J: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

restraints which they place on sex, and we shall accordingly pay close regard to these covert aspects of sexual interaction.[9]

The Kaska tend to avoid idealizing the sexual relationship. For the most part there is little demonstration of affection in public.[10] Although young married couples show considerable devotion to one another, the closest bonds between sexual partners appear only after marriages have endured for some time. There is evidence for assuming that tender feelings are inhibited, and that romantic affection is most readily expressed by simply maintaining proximity to the loved object. Little evidence of romantic passion was adduced. Commenting on the blind devotion which a white man was showing Dorothy Flower, Mildred Boss said: "White men more crazy than Indian about girl. Don't think Indian men do that." Richard Day, a native who had been educated at a Pacific Coast boarding school, admitted having been in love, but described the affair as an unpleasantness—he could neither eat nor sleep—that he did not want to risk the experience again. Love, he explained, appears after a man has had sexual intercourse with the same girl several times.

Only the man's ideals of female erotic beauty were secured. Such ideals emphasize even, white teeth; coordinated eyes; a well shaped nose; and long, well combed hair. One informant, adding the qualities of tallness and plumpness, said that he did not fancy too prominent breasts. Breasts, with the exception to be noted below, have little erotic significance. Attractive clothes appear to enhance a girl's desirability, but inducements depend only erotic significance for perfume or cosmetics.

The attitudes guarding against exposure of the genitals have already been indicated in connection with the discussion of defecation and urination. It may be added, that strong shame is not attached to the exposure of the breasts. A nursing woman will freely uncover the upper part of her body in public, and Irene Wiley once went swimming in mixed company wearing only a pair of bloomers.

Shyness in the presence of the opposite sex is more strongly developed in girls than in boys, although it is by no means lacking in the latter. It is hard to gauge how much of a girl's exposure and resistance represents expected social behavior and what part is a sincere expression of confusion, fear, and embarrassment. The proportion of these motivations undoubtedly varies among different girls. There are several girls, like Irene Wiley and Flower Joe, who can never be upset by sexual attention. Younger and less prominent girls, however, are quick to become confused and alarmed by too direct a sexual approach, and even young married women will often reflect genuine disturbance when they encounter sexual attention from strange men. In the men, intense shyness soon becomes inhibited in accordance with the social expectations.

Among themselves, young men often discuss sexual topics and would readily do so upon the invitation of the ethnographer, once his company became familiar. Always, how-

[9] For recent studies stressing the social determinants of sex see Ayres, The Social Psychology of Hunger and the Family Around, the and the Social Order (1948), and Honigmann, A Cultural Theory of Obscenity (1949). The findings that sex is multiply determined, rather than overwhelmingly a primary determinant (as Freud postulated), stems largely from Adler, Ben Weinberg, The Psychology of Sex (1948), and Schaberg, Self-Esteem (Consciousness Publishing) and Something to Whom (1948).

[10] The display of affection in public is interesting among youths who have been sexually to sexual knowledge educated and is also condemned by Takhtan young men and women.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

ever, they kept their voices low and maintained a cautious watch to prevent interruption. While alcohol still further reduces a man's sexual inhibitions, there is evidence to believe that this process takes much longer in the girl. The belief that girls will readily succumb to sexual advances when intoxicated could not be verified. Unless people are intoxicated, little direct attention is paid to sex. Obscenity is limited, and mainly expressed in gestures. Discussion of sexual processes tends to be avoided.

Three types of sexual stimulation may be noted and usually follow in sequence. These are communication by means of conventional signs, teasing and rough-housing, and, finally, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals. All of these types of approach are distinguished by the fact that they do not rely on words; as we shall show, the whole sexual episode can easily be executed without speech.

The principal conventional signs serving to manifest sexual interest are winking and hand pressing. The latter is a common means for boys (and sometimes girls) to express sexual attention toward a dancing partner. Agreement to the invitation implied in the gesture is indicated if the partner returns the pressure. In many women the sign (although it may be returned) provokes a storm of real or affected embarrassment. Pinching the face and thighs are other gestures used to manifest sexual interest.

Among young unmarried people, teasing and rough-housing are the commonest ways of sexual stimulation, serving as a means of overcoming the difficulties related to a verbal sexual approach. Obviously a direct solicitation to coitus would not succeed in the society since, under such circumstances, most unmarried girls would immediately run away in embarrassment or fail to respond. Furthermore direct sexual solicitation would be embarrassing to the boy. Teasing and rough-housing are usually limited to nighttime, when boys encounter girls in Lower Post or around a house where a dance is in progress. Often girls initiate these actions. It is interesting to note the inception of the behavior in fourteen or fifteen year old girls, who throw bits of orange peel at young men in the safety of daylight and run off laughing as the boys threaten to catch them. Such provocation is, of course, not yet clearly sexual. At night couples often slap at each other with willow branches, push one another, or girls try to snatch boys' hats. All such actions soon lead to the girl's running off with the boy in pursuit. When the boy has caught her, usually with the girl's consent, the couple will wrestle until one or the other is thrown down. In this wrestling the boy manifests the first direct sexual approach to the girl.

As we have indicated, the third form of sexual stimulation, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals, follows a period of teasing and rough-housing and comes when the young people have moved far enough away from other people to be safe from observation. It is usually reserved until the boy has caught his partner in a dark, secluded place, preferably in thick bush. Sometimes it occurs in any social situation when intoxicated boys (more rarely a bold, intoxicated girl) initiate such behavior regardless of observers. Boys normally experience some hesitation in advancing to this form of stimulation, unless they feel sure that the girl will not resist too strongly. Should several boys operate in a group much less consideration of the girl's possible resistance obtains. Generally, some indication of the girl's willingness has already appeared in her teasing or, more importantly, is indicated when she allows herself to be caught. Direct stimulation usually involves a boy touch-

1: Honigmann, E45 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

ing a girl's genitals through her clothes or pressing the front of his body against hers, forcing her to remain against him. Sometimes a bold, intoxicated girl will cling against a boy's body, without, however, touching his penis. If sexual intercourse does not immediately follow, the boy may subsequently find many opportunities to caress the girl's body. For the most part such caresses are directed toward the hips and genitals. An interesting exception to the rule that breasts are not used as sexual zones comes from two young men, who had been outside to school, and in sexual situations grasped girls' breasts.

Intercourse is always carried out in privacy, usually at night, and is accompanied with little or no verbalization. A period of foreplay, in which the young man handles the girl's vulva and clitoris and presses his body and face close to the partner's, proceeds the act of coitus. During the foreplay the boy helps the girl remove her slacks and bloomers, but usually these garments are not entirely removed, the girl simply withdrawing one leg. The girl avoids the sight of her partner's nudity and carefully conceals her own sexual parts with her slip, dress, or blanket. Rarely will a girl assist in intromission. During coitus, in which the common ventroventral position is occupied, there may be some kissing. The coital rhythm of the male is described as slow and oscillating or wavelike, rather than sharp or jerky, with just a bare increase of tempo as ejaculation approaches. It would appear that not all girls attain the orgasm. The man's orgasm is relatively quickly attained and there is evidence that he is not concerned with waiting for his partner's climax. Following the orgasm there may be a brief period of relaxation in which additional kissing and close embracing occurs. In this post-coital relationship the girl is described as soothing and comforting.

Sexual intercourse is behavior which requires considerable patience and time. Both partners, after having signified their interest in the act, must wait until all strangers have retired or until older people are asleep. A boy's patience is also tested when there are rivals for a girl's favor at hand. Premarital sexual relationships do not ordinarily include an unmarried girl spending the night with her lover. While there is no evidence for assuming any shame or sadness immediately following coitus, the following day sees an embarrassed avoidance of unmarried sexual partners.

Up to this point we have described the pattern of sexual stimulation and intercourse for unmarried couples in summer. Variations occur in winter when the group is smaller and outdoor interaction difficult. In that season, sexual relations between unmarried people are often limited to occasions of visits. Then a boy will come to a girl's bed in the cabin after her parents are asleep. The older folks, if awakened, are said not to notice such behavior. Between husband and wife, as between an unmarried couple who have had sufficient opportunity to become sexually familiar, the period of sexual stimulation is limited to a more direct sexual approach which does not, however, always ignore foreplay, some wives being reported to arouse their husbands manually. Boys in general appear to be eager to secure new sexual partners and only as a last resort accept a willing partner who is apt to be one of the community's more promiscuous girls.

Attitudes toward sexual intercourse describe the situation as "dandy." Nevertheless there is some ideal uneasiness regarding too excessive indulgence as well as premature indulgence. Eighteen is commonly given as the age when sexual relations can safely be

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

833 begun. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger, and boys when they approach seventeen. Situations prohibiting intercourse are not consistently recognized. A number of
834 youths say that they would not have intercourse with a girl who is menstruating; they will,
839 however, permit a girl in this condition to masturbate them. Other boys deny such in-
842 hibitions or else utilize a condom with a menstruant. Men are generally reluctant to have intercourse with a girl who is feared to be venereally diseased, but will do so if condoms are available. "French safes," as condoms are locally designated, were largely secured from soldiers and construction workers during Highway construction but are now sold by one of the independent traders who secures them through truck drivers hauling from Dawson Creek. Coitus is not avoided before a hunting trip; in fact a man who expects to be away hunting for some time may make a point of securing intercourse before leaving.

833 When intoxicated, most of the younger men are keenly interested in describing their sexual prowess. They recount such feats as attaining several orgasms or copulating with three and four different girls in a single night. Sexual capacity is also spoken of as the ability to "wear out" a girl. One story is told of three boys who exhausted a girl by having intercourse with her twice each. Boys will reveal the names of their sexual partners only to close friends, and even this is rare unless a youth is intoxicated. From observation it is apparent that much of this conversation tends to exaggerate the frequency of coitus. It is probable that in summer an unmarried man has intercourse about once in seven or ten days. Since there are fewer unmarried girls available for this purpose, the frequency of coitus is considerably greater for this sex, averaging perhaps three or four times a week in summer for promiscuous young women. Along with the high value invested in sexual capacity, goes a
[831] concern for the size of the penis, a large organ being regarded as desirable and commendable.

833 That the male's interest in sexual capacity and genital size may point to a fear of im-
787 potence is indicated by material collected from and about one thirty-two year old man. He was reported to suffer from acute impotence on two occasions. In an interview with the ethnographer, he once denied that virility declines with age, affirming that some old men are "stronger for girls" than young men. In a dream reported before specific reports of his incapacity had been obtained, he told of being in the company of his brother when he was attacked by a grizzly bear. "My gun stick. I get nervous. I try to take shot at him, My gun got no power. Goes BBB —goes out quick . . . I take all shells and put new shells in. He run around. He don't bite me. I get mad at grizzly bear. I holler at him: 'You better get away or I hit you with that gun.' " The informant tended to deny the interpretation equating the gun with the penis and the dream's situation with sexual incapacity. The rejection was inconclusive, however, the man saying that to kill a dangerous animal in a dream was a promise of effectively combating illness. "You kill him, that's lucky. You're safe . . . you're not going to die. Gun is great thing when you're dreaming."

833 Acute impotence under the influence of alcohol was denied by several informants, who reported an aphrodisiacal effect from liquor and brew.

836 Ideally, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls. Parents, when they venture to speak of the matter, warn girls to avoid sexual relations before marriage, citing the dangers of illegitimacy and venereal infection. Such behavior may also be criticized, scolded, or otherwise punished. One girl, thirteen, who was showing a tendency

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

6. While no term for DaHu was obtained, SoWi is designated by a distinctive term, which elsewhere in the intermontane area designates granddaughter. 601

7. There is a single grandchild term.

Turning to kinship behavior, joking obtained between grandparents and grandchildren. The former sometimes resented being teased and reprimanded junior relatives with some such remark as, "You'll be old too when your time comes. Look after yourself." Circumspect behavior obtained between siblings of opposite sex. An older boy avoided directly addressing his sister (real or classificatory) and limited his interpersonal relations with her.[3] Any reference to the sexual organs in the presence of siblings of like or opposite sex brought severe scolding. Some degree of familiarity obtained with father's siblings, although marriage with a paternal uncle or aunt was prohibited. Nevertheless sexual relations with the father's sister were countenanced. Following such intimacy the aunt is said to have "wanted me more." Respect governed behavior toward the mother's siblings. Part of a man's shyness with his mother's brother stemmed from the fact that the latter was regarded as a prospective father-in-law, to whom respect was also enjoined.[4] A man sometimes jokingly referred to his sister's children as "slaves." Strong reserve also marked relations between a man and his mother-in-law while a warm camaraderie linked brothers-in-law. However no undue familiarity entered their conversation. A man enjoyed teasing his brother's wife and sexual allusions were a prominent topic in their relations. For example, a married man might inform his sister-in-law that he would quit his wife in order to pursue her. Close friends addressed one another with the brother-in-law term, asla. No ritual acts marked the initiation of such friendships. Asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage with the MoBrDa or FaSiSo has already been mentioned.

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[834]

[572]

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Dease River Kaska. Below is a list of kinship terms employed among the Indians of the Dease River basin. 601

estsil: my MoFa, FaFa, WiFa (m.s.), HuFa (w.s.).
estsun: my MoMo, FaMo (m.s.), WiMo (m.s.), HuMo (w.s.).
ete: my Fa.
gge: my Mo, MoSi.
esta: my FaBr.
sese: my MoBr, SiSo, SiDa.
(e)stcesese: my So, BrSo.
estas: my Da, BrDa.
gutdlie: my eBr; also, if older than ego, FaBrSo, MoSiSo.
itcitle: my yBr; also, if younger than ego, FaBrSo, MoSiSo.
gtare: my eSi; also, if older than ego, FaBrDa, MoSiDa.
etase: my ySi; also, if younger than ego, FaBrDa, MoSiDa.
esla: my MoBrSo, WiPa (m.s.), SiHu (m.s.).
espa: my MoBrDa (m.s.), HuBr (w.s.), SiHu (w.s.), WiSi (m.s.), BrWi (m.s.).
ekle: my MoBrDa (w.s.), HuSi (w.s.), BrWi (w.s.).
esilus: my Wi.

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[3] Among the Tlingit brother and sister taboos also obtained, those relatives not speaking to each other. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 145.

[4] See below, p. 132.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

714 furnished disguise because they prevented the enemy from recognizing the attackers. Painting the whole face with a mixture of charcoal, spruce gum, and grease served the same end.[32] After the fighting this paint was removed with the aid of grease. Birch-wood shields, designed to deflect arrows, consisted of two or three pieces of wood, each about three feet long and sewn together. Grease layered the forward surface of the shield. In warding off an arrow by this device the warrior spoke a one-word charm, ʔuk ("swan").

[841] Menstruation on the part of a man's wife did not prevent him from joining a fighting
[834] party but following his departure this woman was bound to avoid crossing the warrior's
[702] trail lest danger befall him. Prior to setting out a man abstained from coitus for four days. "If you stay with your wife you will be killed, you weaken yourself."[33] Winter or summer each member of a war expedition toughened himself by plunging into cold water.

732 After the men had departed the women left in camp constructed a number of human
789 images, using robes and skins stuffed with brush. Human features were added with red paint. The dummies stood in the camp and each morning women attacked them with ceremonial wooden knives. The ritual gave additional strength to the warriors.[34] Women
837 also girdled themselves in fancy outer belts which dared not be removed until the party had returned. Untying the knot promised death to the fighters. This belt undoubtedly symbolizes the chastity of the women during the husbands' absence.[35] At the same time the rite no doubt allayed the jealous temperament of the men and allowed them to focus on the business at hand without distraction. It may well be that such belts possessed indirect survival value.

726 The warriors traveled quickly. In advance went two or three scouts, intelligent men about 40 years old. At night young men remained posted around the camp, acting as sentries. The expedition camped in brush-banked lean-tos enclosed on three sides and sharing a common rear wall. Usually two lines of such shelters faced each other and a fire burned in the space between. Moccasins dared never be removed while sleeping lest the wearer imperil his life. No effort was made to conceal the light of campfires. Fre-
726 quently during the course of travel the shaman performed rites designed to prevent
789 bow strings from snapping or to break the enemy's snowshoes when the latter sought to escape. At night the fighting party sang songs magically designed to weaken the enemy.

726 All military action took place on land. The Kaska did not fight from canoes, although the informant had heard that the Tlingit fought from boats. Fighting started as soon as

[32] The same means of disguise accompanied war among the Kutchin. Osgood, *Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin* (1936), 87.

[33] Tlingit men expecting to join a war party "were not allowed to see or go to any woman. This tabu depended on the length of time they expected to be gone. 'Sometimes they did not see a woman for a year.'" Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 449.

[34] Tlingit warriors constructed such dummies before leaving camp. "All the men and their wives had such images." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 449.

[35] "While the warriors were away the leader's wife had to have stones tied about her blanket just as did her husband on the expedition. . . ." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 450.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

not think of another war," a statement which suggests that fighting brought about rather full release of suppressed anger and strain.[40]

On the return journey scouts were dispatched in advance to learn about conditions at the home camp. They reported back to the expedition. Nobody who had been left behind dared come forward to meet the warriors. To do so would have been an omen of misfortune. Upon returning to camp each man went directly to his own dwelling. Then the women prepared a steam bath for those men who had been wounded. This sudatory possessed especially strong properties because it included a specimen of every tree that the expedition had encountered on its homeward trip. Weekly for a month or so after the return the men danced with the combed enemy scalps on their heads. This helped them "to forget the fighting." Contact between a woman and a scalp had to be avoided lest the warrior lose his strength. Only the man who had detached the trophy wore it in ritual. At other times the scalp remained in a smoked-skin container. A tattooed line crossing the upper arm just below the shoulder designated a man's participation in a war party. The number of such stripes revealed his war record.[41] While prestige did not constitute a primary motivation for fighting, a record of successful war participation enhanced a man's standing. For a year or two (?) the warrior received gifts of food, not to honor him but because hunting remained a dangerous occupation for a man who had killed human beings. If "game blood" became mixed with human blood that he had shed, it would make the man "heavy." It remains problematical whether such avoidances constituted disabilities for the man. More likely, it may be argued, refraining from hunting focused attention on the individual that rewarded him for his war effort. It may also be questioned whether a group living close to the level of subsistence could support even one nonproductive male per band for one or two years. Warfare or, more specifically, contact with killing, rendered a man unfit for sexual intercourse. Hence a two-month avoidance of cohabitation followed his return. Violation of this taboo might mean the death of his children. The hunting and cohabitation avoidances reveal the antithesis felt to exist between enemy killing on the one hand and sex or hunting on the other. In this connection it may be significant that the contemporary Kaska unconsciously perceive coitus as akin to hunting.[42]

Dease River Kaska. Neither primary family nor microcosmic band exercised exclusive ownership rights over hunting or fishing sites. Generally, however, a band sought permission before moving into an area which another group was currently exploiting. Consent always followed, but the pattern nevertheless reveals a conception of usufruct probably coupled with an awareness that a given area could support only a limited number of persons.

The community dealt harshly with theft, behavior that made a man comparable to a dog. Depending on the gravity of his offense the punishment of a detected thief ranged

[40] This parallels Lantis' interpretation. Lantis, *Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* (1946), 168.

[41] Among the Peel River Kutchin a line was tattooed from the corner of the eyes or mouth for each enemy killed. The Crow people, however, made their lines on the top of the bicep of the right arm. Osgood, *Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin* (1936), 87, 88.

[42] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 235, 296.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

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784 commonly exploited. Some parts of the meat would be avoided. Often the animal helper itself prescribed the avoidance to be followed. Thus a moose might tell the dreamer, "Eat only my ribs," "Don't eat my head," or "Don't eat my guts."

834
784 Cohabitation promised to be magically dangerous under some circumstances and therefore had to be avoided.[28] For example a man held off from coitus in the night before he started on a hunt. Following his return the hunter remained continent for about six days.[29] Miscellaneous avoidances included the taboo on making snowshoes before snow lay on the ground and a reluctance to deposit parts of the human body on or in the earth. Apparently because of the disgust associated with rotten things like teeth, the umbilicus, the afterbirth, and perhaps the corpse were rather cached or burned than buried. Whistling met with special precautions, but use of the willow whistle does not seem to have been affected.

789
787 By far the largest amount of magical ritual concerned itself with hunting and the cure of illness. Not only could a shaman through divination learn the location of game but he could then perform rites to guarantee the successful killing of food. Singing the songs which had been learned from one's animal sponsors secured hunting luck; a "moose doctor" for example sang his "moose song." Men with inadequate power frequently asked a stronger shaman to perform rites in their behalf. Seated alongside the practitioner the hunter might accompany the shaman by singing. On other occasions a man with strong power etched the image of an animal on a small piece of caribou bone. The hunter took this amulet on his journey and returned it when it had served its purpose. Other amulets, like a piece of weasel or loon skin worn in the hat, assured all-around good luck. Any man might be fortunate in finding substances that assured successful hunting. Such "medicines" (perhaps earths?) were shaped like pills and carried on the hunter's person. In early post-contact times a man who struck a moose trail would smoke one of these pellets in his pipe, at the same time singing and wishing to encounter that animal. Another form of hunting ritual involved an older brother tearing open the left sleeve of his coat when a younger sibling killed his first large game animal. The ritual insured a lasting abundance of game. Instead of remaining hidden the animals would fall out of the sleeve, metaphorically speaking. Scapulimancy performed by a shaman sometimes preceded hunting for moose, caribou, and bear. The following account probably indicates that the informant had forgotten the details of this technique. The shaman is said to have begun by singing, at the same time placing the scapula of a moose or caribou near the fire. Heat, the informant explained, caused a moose or other animal to appear on the surface of the bone. This indicated that the hunter would have good luck whereas if an image failed to materialize then he would kill nothing. At the end of the performance the shaman blew on the bone, flipped his fingers, and caused the design to vanish. As elsewhere in the northern forest it is likely that cracks in the scapula were interpreted.[30]

[28] See also pp. 94, 96, 117, 118, 124–126, and 140.

[29] Continence as a preparatory observance for luck is widespread among Pacific Coast tribes, including the Tlingit and Chilkat. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 223.

[30] "... people used to talk to a piece of bone that comes out of a seal's shoulder blade, saying, 'Will

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River
Tselona

784 *Dease River Kaska.* Many of the animal avoidances common among the Upper Liard people were shared by the Dease River Indians. Danger came from the mink and otter, while the killing of a toad always produced illness. People fed moose, caribou, and beaver flesh to dogs, and informants did not admit to having been careful in disposing of moose hairs. Women ate any part of an animal that a man used for food. Dream animals, from whom power had been obtained, were avoided for food but whether completely or only in part we did not learn. Illness followed violation of such taboos. Young men and women drank lightly of water, apparently in order to maintain their strength.[39] No [834] restrictions on youths' drinking grease were admitted. A man avoided coitus with his wife for one night before going to hunt.

224 755 Shamans made hunting magic by singing magical animal songs accompanied by other men. Singing also operated in curing ceremonies. Any person with some power, even a youth, might perform healing magic. Should the disease not be relieved, increasingly more powerful (reputed?) shamans would be solicited. Successful cures enhanced a practitioner's reputation. In addition to confession, techniques of doctoring included blowing into the person to restore the latter's soul when it was believed to have been stolen through sorcery. A shaman also sucked intrusive disease from the body, revealing stones or very little animals that had caused the ailment. Sometimes a practitioner blew his breath into a vessel containing water for the sick man to drink.

754 Sorcery involved the capture of another person's wind. This produced illness. Any man with sufficient power could succeed with malevolent magic, or else the services of a stronger shaman guaranteed successful completion of the deed. Only evilly disposed men accepted such employment, indicating that in-group sorcery met with disapproval. The man who produced illness could also cure it and sometimes offered to do so in exchange for a payment of skins. Suspected black magicians inspired fear and respect. No physical sanctions appear to have been directed against their activities.

787 Scapulimancy was practiced. The bull-roarer possessed magical power and a man swung it for magical assistance, to chip stone successfully and also to bring about milder weather.

784 825 *Tselona.* Certain animals aroused great fear and were never trapped. These included the flying squirrel, toad, mink, and otter.[40] To kill one of these creatures promised that one's children would sicken and die. The wolf and wolverine were also avoided for fur

[39] Before marriage a Tlingit boy's uncle told him: "Do not drink too much water or it will make you lazy." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 428. See also above, p. 107.

[40] For the Bear Lake Sekani attitudes of respect have been reported regarding the wolf, toad, salamander, and otter. "The Indians around us had many superstitions regarding wolves; a rifle that killed a wolf would soon kill a human; or a person born at a certain time must never kill a wolf, because if he did, his nearest female relative was certain to become insane." Children were startled when shown toads. "It was quite taboo for them to touch or get near 'frogs.' Such an action meant death or illness and all sorts of horrible things." To touch salamanders "might mean that a man would lose all his worldly possessions." Otter skulls were preserved by the youngsters and would not be surrendered to the naturalists lest the "mother would be possessed by the spirits of the three departed otters and eventually become insane." Stanwell-Fletcher, *Naturalists in the Wilds of British Columbia* (1940), 131, 137, 221.

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Tsetona
Frances Lake

and food but they do not seem to have possessed the same dangerous potency as the mink, for example. The informant denied any general avoidance of the otter. Rather some people paid more regard to him than others. Clarification of this statement could not be secured. Perhaps a man who enjoyed otter power felt less fear for that animal. Following their introduction in numbers, dogs came to eat the meat of any animal but not the leg tendons or intestines of the moose. Avoidance of these foods preserved the dog's endurance.

A young man observed a number of food avoidances designed to develop capacities for hunting. He drank water lightly, since many animals disliked water. Avoidance of the beverage magically helped a man to obtain greater power over game. He also ate sparingly of leg tendons, moose intestines, and moose brains lest his quickness and resistance to fatigue become impaired. The successful tracking of large game depended on speed. No grease taboos were known. Except during menstruation when a woman avoided fresh meat, women ate the same foods eaten by men. Avoidances designed to develop hunting power did not apply to women. As the informant explained, "Game don't want him, that woman." Dream animals played no part in the diet, not being eaten in whole or part. Some shamans never ate porcupine or beaver and others rejected the head of moose. These observances would seem to be auxiliary to the taboo on the meat of the animal sponsor or may represent a partial contradiction of that statement. Cohabitation taboos prior to hunting were denied.

Frances Lake Kaska. Attitudes toward the otter are described by Pike.[41]

A curious superstition prevails that if you kill an otter it is capable of causing much trouble by coming to life again in your stomach. Only three winters ago a Frances Lake woman lay at death's door with this malady, but she was saved by the timely arrival of the only medicine man left in the tribe. He seems to have diagnosed the case correctly at once, and holding a sheep's horn spoon to the patient's mouth, he proceeded to repeat a long incantation suitable to the occasion. As soon as he had finished, to the great joy of all the relatives who had gathered to see the death, three little otters dropped out into the spoon. The old lady recovered rapidly, and afterwards confessed to having stolen and eaten an otter that she had found in somebody else's beaver trap during a long period of starvation in the early summer.

Hunting rites included depositing an unidentified "medicine" on a moose track, either to attract the animal back to that spot or to make him more vulnerable to the hunter's arrow. After spreading other substances around a beaver house the hunter would sit down to await the appearance of the game. Scapulimancy could not be recalled. The wearing of animal figurines cut from bone insured success in hunting.

Sucking provided the commonest means of curing but other conceptions of illness coexisted with the notion of intrusion that sucking suggests. A young man carefully

[41] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 145. Field reports that "The Pellys and Little Salmons believe that very near all sickness comes from the otter and mink and if anybody kills one, they or some of their near relatives will get sick and die. If any should happen to kill an otter or mink and skin it, he generally will use some old knife and throw the knife away when he is finished. He believes by doing this he guards against getting sick as the sickness is in the knife. Also if you touch or kill a frog your limbs will lose their strength, and you will get poor. Your flesh will gradually waste away till you die." Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 6.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

his sweetheart, like a piece of her hair. Girls might extract a promise of faithfulness in return for a keepsake. No case of suicide for unrequited love could be recalled. The ideal girl was one who cared for her hair; possessed bright, good looking eyes; showed strong or "big" legs, and a wide chest. Physical beauty did not suffice to recommend a girl for marriage. As a matter of fact boys were advised to choose a plain girl, who would not attract other men and hence whose faithfulness could be depended on. An ideal bride was a girl thoroughly imbued with the virtue of generosity, who treated people well, offered food to guests no matter how numerous they might be, even if it meant using the last piece of meat in camp. Such a woman attracted visitors to a camp, always a gratifying experience for a host. This description of ideal womanly virtues suggests how strongly a woman dominated the food that a man brought home. Clearly her rights were final and by no means did such rights represent mere lip service on the part of the man.

Conventions pertaining to modesty were very important. It was indecent for a child beyond the age of three to expose the genitals. No woman revealed to a man any part of her body between the breasts and ankles but apparently the breasts were not as strongly concealed as other areas—at least not in a nursing woman. Few men ever saw their wives completely naked. Women also refrained from undressing before other women. A man took care not to expose his penis to a woman, but nudity before male companions produced little or no embarrassment. Modesty demanded that a woman sit with her legs folded under her, parallel to one another, the dress drawn over the knees. In a mixed group a man sat with his legs crossed. A youth was once severely reprimanded for facing parents-in-law with his legs spread apart. Blushing followed when people called immodesty to one's attention. This indicated shame. Strict rules governed the vocalization of sexual concepts. Boys were advised not to use the terms for the sexual organs until they were "half-old" and never to refer to sexual topics in the presence of siblings. The emphasis on modesty correlated with an interest in pornography and verbal obscenity. Pornography included pictorial and sculptural representations of the genitals. One man reportedly carved phalluses two or three feet long from wood and planted them on ridges at the heads of trails, where they would shock people who unexpectedly encountered them.[9] In anger a man who had lost his wife to a rival might caricature the latter in charcoal on a tree, showing him naked and holding his penis. Children were punished for making obscene drawings. Both sexes expressed verbal obscenity, common expressions including: "Somebody has had intercourse with you!" "You just know how to copulate!" "You have no father!" A woman angered another woman by crying, "You vagina!" Or she might tell her husband, "You copulate with me every night!" For the proper flavor vernacular terms must be substituted for the printed version of these expletives!

Patterned gestures served to communicate sexual interest between sexes. If a girl wanted to reciprocate such an advance she merely laughed. In verbally soliciting coitus

[9] One informant, who had been a member of boat crews freighting on Dease River, several times shaped sticks of driftwood into huge phalluses, leaving them to bob in the current to shock female passengers on other vessels.